

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

General Grant has not from the outset, left the country in doubt with regard to the leading points of his policy. When waited upon by the joint committee of Congress, on the 13th February, to officially inform him of his election, he announced his determination to fulfill the just expectations of the people. "I can promise the committee," he said, "that it will be my endeavor to call around me as assistants such men only as I think will carry out the principles which you have said the country desires to see successful—economy, retrenchment, faithful collection of the revenue, and payment of the public debt."

On the occasion to which we refer another promise was made, also voluntarily and with equal emphasis. Mr. J. V. L. Pruyn was present as a member of the joint committee. He was there as the representative of the Democratic element in Congress, and when General Grant indicated the distinctive points of the policy he contemplated, Mr. Pruyn, promptly and in apparent good faith, thus addressed him:—

"General—In the great principles which you have marked out for the conduct of your administration, you will have the political support of those with whom I am associated, ready to act with you. Here, then, are two promises—one intended to inform the country with reference to a matter which excited anxious inquiry, and the other apparently intended to assure the President elect that those who had opposed him were prepared to aid in the performance of his task. Has General Grant redeemed his promise? Have Mr. Pruyn's friends, for whom as a party he spoke, redeemed theirs? The answer in behalf of General Grant is clear and conclusive. What he promised he has performed. Economy and retrenchment are manifest in every branch of the public service. Within six months his administration has effected a saving in expenditure of not less than \$36,801,013; and the process still goes on. The diminution of outlay has not been effected at the cost of efficiency. On the contrary, as a result of increased efficiency, and of that "faithful collection of the revenue" which General Grant promised, the revenue for six months exhibits an advance amounting to \$19,660,143. As to the reduction of the public debt, the record is quite satisfactory. A single half year has witnessed the payment of \$56,000,000 of the principal, and an appreciation in the value of the public securities which will greatly facilitate funding at a lower rate of interest. So much for the President. He is vindicated by his acts. The policy he foreshadowed has been adhered to literally, and with excellent effect.

Meanwhile the pledge tendered by Mr. Pruyn has been disregarded by the party in whose name he addressed the President. He promised that in the application of his policy General Grant should have the political support of the Democracy. The promise has not been fulfilled. Instead of sustaining the administration in reducing and economizing expenditures, in faithfully collecting the revenue, and in extinguishing debt, the Democrats have offered nothing but factions opposition. Not content with allowing the administration to perform the work, they have persistently striven to impede its progress. They credit it neither with cutting down expenses nor with increasing the productiveness of taxation; they neither concede what it has accomplished in the matter of retrenchment nor accord it justice for the reforms it has introduced into the public service. The magnanimous spirit proclaimed by Mr. Pruyn is proved to be sham, and a reckless partisanship, as indifferent to truth and fairness as to the public weal, is found to be the only spirit of which the party is capable in its action toward the President and his advisers.

The difference between General Grant and the Democratic party, in relation to retrenchment, an efficient revenue service, and the reduction of the debt, is plain and characteristic. He has kept his word; they have violated theirs. He has steadily and successfully carried forward a policy which will bring relief to the country; they have as steadily obstructed reform and misrepresented its result. The contrast is between fidelity and faithlessness—between great duties honestly performed and a partisanship which recognizes neither truth nor duty.

FRANCE—THE CRISIS OVER.

The 26th of October has come and gone, and happily, we think, for all parties, it has not been necessary to repeat the acts of the famous 2d of December. Paris has not since the commencement of the Emperor's reign been so much under the influence of fear as it has been for some days past. It was originally intended by the Liberals, or "irreconcilables," as they are now called, to make a grand demonstration on the 26th, by way of protesting against the postponement of the opening of the Chambers. Such journals as the *Reveil* and the *Republique* urged the Left to do in Versailles on October 25, 1869, what the *Tiers Etat* did in Versailles in 1789, promising that if they marched across the city, the forty which might leave the Place de la Bastille would be one hundred thousand when they reached the Place de la Concorde. As the 26th of October approached the forty "irreconcilables" gradually dwindled down to thirteen, the other twenty-seven having wisely concluded that it would, all things considered, be better to wait patiently until the 29th of November, when they could constitutionally take the Government to task. The thirteen, however, made up their minds to make a show on the 26th, and to brave all consequences. Napoleon was well warded, and, of course, was well armed. Paris was surrounded by and filled with soldiers; the populace was duly advised of the dangers of manifesting too much enthusiasm; instructions were given to Marshal Bazaine that there should be no "mistaken humanity," and so, notwithstanding all the fuss and fury of the "irreconcilable" thirteen, law and order reigned in Paris on Tuesday as usual.

As will be seen by our cable despatches, the city of Paris was throughout the entire day perfectly tranquil. There was no demonstration, no disturbance. The bold thirteen did not make their appearance. The forty did not become one hundred thousand. The cannon, though pointed, were not used. In the afternoon, to show how little ground

there was for alarm, the Emperor drove out in an open carriage and passed through some of the principal streets of the city. It is but just to add here that the day came and went very much as we expected. No one who knows the Emperor Napoleon could for a moment imagine that he would give his enemies the shadow of a chance to triumph over him. In spite of French "reds" and European democrats and American detractors, there is no ruler of the present day in whom the great public have more faith than they have in the Emperor Napoleon. His fall would, politically and financially, convulse not France alone, not Europe only, but the world. Yet the threatened demonstration of Tuesday had not the slightest effect on 'Change. The announcement of the Emperor's death would create a panic in every financial centre in the world. A threatened outbreak disturbs no one. So long as Louis Napoleon lives, his clear intellect and his strong will remaining, he will continue to be the trusted ruler of France. A violent revolution so long as he holds the reins is simply impossible. It is impossible to refuse to admit—and most men will make the admission heartily—that the peaceful victory of Tuesday will greatly increase the Emperor's popularity with the French people, while it cannot fail to enhance his great reputation all the world over. The world has not seen so skillful a ruler in many generations. He has not the brilliancy of his great uncle; but if his reign has shed less lustre upon French arms, it has occasioned less misery to the French people. If history cannot speak of him as the Julius Cæsar of France, it will not refuse to grant him the place and honors of Augustus.

Although, however, Napoleon has once again come off victorious, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the current events and growing public sentiment are rather against than with him. His personal influence is great; but it cannot be said that he has been successful in establishing a form of government which could work well without him. The French Government machine is not yet like that of Great Britain and that of the United States, self-acting. It needs the hand of skill to direct and control it, and it is difficult to see where that hand could be found if the Emperor were no more. It may seem a bold saying, but it is truth—the future of the Bonaparte dynasty is as uncertain to-day as it was twenty years ago. Napoleon gone, we see the factions again in conflict, and a republic or a restoration seems even more certain than the reign of Napoleon the Fourth. The death of the Emperor will be the signal for an uprising in Europe which his life and his success only postpone. With him will pass away a vigorous upholder of law and order; and if the fiercer spirits of democracy shall rejoice in his death as they would at the fall of a tyrant, the dynasties will have good reason to lament the loss of their greatest pillar of strength. It is well, we think, that peace on this occasion has been preserved; it is well that the Emperor remains master of the situation; but it is well also to bear in mind that the struggle is only postponed. The spirit of liberty is unconquerable.

MISMANAGEMENT IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Last spring, when the Narragansett was fitted out and sent to Cuba to protect our countrymen, she went with a couple of thirty-two pounders and one other gun too small to be remembered. She is a fair-sized sloop-of-war, and ought to have carried a battery four times as heavy. The Americans in Havana laughed loud and long at the puny armament of defence, which their prizes and property were to be intrusted. The chief of the bureau that furnishes the ordnance to men-of-war said he could not give her more guns, because the bureau that supplies the men was unable to provide the crew to man them. So rigid was the economy which the system of retrenchment demanded. Yet, shortly afterwards, the Sabine sheeted home for Europe, carrying three or four hundred sailors, every man of whom was needed to protect our people in the West Indies. What was it that they were sent to Europe for? To give a pleasure cruise to eighty midshipmen, graduates of the Naval School at Annapolis?

There is a pressing need of midshipmen in the navy. Formerly they waited years and years for promotion, but now they remain midshipmen for only a twelve-month, or at most two years, before rising to the next rank. Hence, to put the graduating class of the Naval School into a single ship is not only to deprive the navy of their services, but themselves of that experience in a junior grade so necessary to their preparation for the duties of a higher one. There is reason to fear that, just as the late withdrawal of midshipmen from the decks of most of our war vessels has already produced a damaging effect upon discipline and efficiency among their crews, so also a want of practical knowledge of a midshipman's duty will be found all along the members of the petty parties when an increase of rank shall hereafter intrust to them the deck, and with it the supervision and direction of subordinates. Instead of putting them on board the Sabine, they should have been distributed to all our men-of-war, where they might have been employed not only in keeping sailors up to sailors' duty, but also in learning their own.

The secret of bad management in the navy lies in the monstrosity of a two-headed authority, of a duplex administration, of a double-back-acting machinery, of a power behind the throne. If the President really desires Vice-Admiral Porter to be Secretary, he can easily take the lawful steps to accomplish his wish. But two Secretaries—one real, the other nominal; one responsible, the other without responsibility; one Robertson, the other Porter, one subject to public scrutiny for every act, the other working as secretly and imperceptibly as the living forces in nature—are unbearable. The Navy Department is like a pair of island ponies effectually tethered and trying head to tail. It can only go round and around in a vicious circle without making a real progress. Among the various failures of President Grant's administration, none is more perfect than this.

McMAHON AND THE PARAGUAYANS.

General McMahon's report of Paraguayan affairs will disappoint many who had hoped, and perhaps unreasonably, for some more striking revelation. That the Brazilians are as cruel in war as the Paraguayans are perfectly credible, and we suppose that our ex-Ambassador has received a familiar conviction that in Spanish questions a great deal may be said against both sides. He says that the moneyless people of Lopez are so greatly self-reliant that their women plant and gather crops while they make guns and use them—all easy to believe of a nation of soldiers whose Amazons can forage and fight. Certain it is, too, that Lopez has administrative strength, and that the weak-kneed provisional government of Asuncion have not quite done with him yet. Nevertheless, we are not sure of the General's statement that the present posi-

tion of Lopez, albeit among the mountains, is stronger than at Ascurra, whence he has been driven, according to a half dozen reports, with the loss of thousands of men.

With less qualification we accept the judgment of our ex-Envoy that the Brazilian announcement of the end of the war is a pretext for withdrawing the troops. Pretext it doubtless is, for though we believe Lopez to have been badly and in grave respects irrecoverably beaten, no one can certify that the war is done. Lopez appears to be in the condition of an armed vagabond. Count d'Eu, though successful, must be tired of a contest which has no longer glory. Nothing is so certain as that the Brazilians and the Argentines are disgusted with the war if only on financial grounds; but this, after all, is small help to the ragged Paraguayans. The reckoning of a British resident in Paraguay that Lopez had with him 15,000 men at Ascurra may add the conjectures of General McMahon, but it will be long before the Dictator will be ready, as he proposes, to invite to his tender mercies American immigrants—whom Heaven save if he be tyrant, libertine, robber, and murderer.

Thus much for General McMahon's statement of a very problematic subject. What he has told his Government would be interesting, perhaps necessary, to any true judgment of the Paraguayan leader and his cause; and we expect to hear more from him on this head. To what extent Lopez is the monster described may have to be guessed rather than from our ex-minister's reticence than anything else. We are ready for any revelation that will make us doubt that the Paraguayan Cæsar is Nero, but are inclined to think that he is, as for our minister himself, we welcome him home cordially. Whatever he has to say, officially or otherwise, with reference to a most trying mission, will derive increased respect from the acknowledgment that he has served his Government with dignity and ability.

THE BALLOT AS A BOLT.

We hope the Charleston Courier's New York correspondent's talk with a metropolitan workman got under the eyes of all our readers recently. We wish, moreover, that it might come to the notice of all the readers of the *Tribune*—for it would help to make clear to their minds the truth that radical aristocrats and fanatics most stand in need of knowing—that the better class of American mechanics are not nourished by the high-sounding nonsense about a free country, a free ballot-box, and free institutions, which it is the specious policy of the *Tribune* to puff them up with.

What better off are we, said the workman who talked with the correspondent, than the working men of the Old World? We do not earn more; our children do not learn more; everything goes away in taxes; and even no amusements are provided for us. A republic, as we have it, is a farce for an honest workingman. It is a paradise for the demagogue, the schemer, the politician! And what help for it? Once there was a duke—a mean and cruel despot—who exacted such increasing and enormous tithes from the peasantry of his domain that one year they came nigh to starvation. Being appealed to by a deputation of their number, and seeing how their case lay, the duke, with a refinement of inconsiderate contempt, instructed his retainers to cast to the hungry wretches the rotten refuse of the vegetable which he had robbed from them and deposited in his cellars. But when the people perceived this imposition, one of them, indignant, cried in a loud voice: "The axe is not for food. Let us use them to get our rights." And, leading the way, the speaker set such a doughty example to the rest that the duke and his retainers were soon pelted into submission with a hail-storm of bad potatoes and pumpkins, for which the assailants got good ones in return.

The working-man complains that the ballot has proved a rotten pumpkin, not fit for food for him and his family. Very well—let him imitate the peasant's example, and use the ballot as a missile to hurl at his tyrant's head. It has become useless in his hands simply because, perhaps, he has cast it for the last eight or nine years into the radical pool, or cellar, only to have it thrown back in his face as a "boon" whenever he has lived a vote of protest against his privations. Isn't it high time to employ this boon to "bring down" the hydra, taxation, instead of further fattening him up?

GENERALITIES.

**Louisville Prosperity.** In this city there are now in operation eight mills, with a daily capacity of about fifteen hundred barrels, equal to an annual production of 450,000 barrels, and at \$6 per barrel, gives a sum total of \$2,700,000. To produce this quantity of wheat requires the capacity of manufacturing, requires about 2,500,000 bushels of wheat. As a cotton market, Louisville during the past few years, was national notoriety. Having inaugurated daily cotton sales at auction, extensive warehouses have been opened in the city, and business has been done in the city at Louisville. The whisky trade of Louisville was \$1,700,000 for the last twelve months, or 2,463,000 gallons. The *Courier* estimates the entire whisky and wine trade at \$11,000,000.

**Southwestern Mob Law.** We copy the following from the *Red River* (Ark.) *News*:—Some time ago a difficulty occurred on Bayou Cie, in Sabine parish, between a man named Chambliss and another named Watkins, and in which Chambliss was killed. The decision of the coroner's inquest was that the killing was done in self-defense. Shortly after, by Chambliss's friends, the Grand Jury of Sabine parish found a true bill against the brothers Watkins and a Dr. Tompkins for killing Chambliss, and on the strength of this bill the Sheriff of Sabine on last Saturday arrested the three parties accused of the murder, and placed them in jail at Many. On Sunday night about one hundred persons visited the jail and took them from the three prisoners, and hung one of the brothers Watkins to the gallows, and the other Watkins is supposed to have escaped.

**Sejourner Truth.** Sejourner Truth, now over eighty years of age, was recently returned from a visit to her death-bed in good health. She proposes to visit President Grant at Washington. She was a slave for forty years in the State of New York, and since her emancipation has devoted her life to the cause of her suffering race. During the war, under President Lincoln's administration, she spent her time among the freedmen, instructing the women in domestic duties, and did much to promote their comfort in and around Washington. Since that period she has lived at Battle creek, Michigan, where she has a little home which is incumbered by a mortgage of about \$500, and her mission now is to gather up what she can towards paying off this mortgage. She has been engaged in doing this. Any contribution for this object may be sent to Rowland Johnson, No. 54 Beaver street, New York.

**A Sensible Act.** During a recent concert in Pick's Hall, Cincinnati, the great doors of the hall were thrown open, and a moment later a gentleman advanced to the platform and touched the leader, as he was going to sing the hymn. Next, this bold person interrupted a singer in the midst of her carollings and warblings, and her voice died away in a whisper. Then, he turned to the next singer, and, evidently suspecting that all was not right, this person waved his hand, and announced that there was no occasion for a rehearsal, with good emphasis. He proceeded to state that a fire had broken out in the next building, but that there need be no alarm, as the fire was already extinguished, and he was about to leave the room. The audience was quieted at once. The rush that had begun was checked; frightened women and children in their seats, waiting for the crowd to pass; the singers and the musicians coolly gathered up their books and

their scores; there was a quiet movement toward the door, but there was no panic. The hall was cleared in a few minutes.

**A Burlesque by Punch.** Modern improvements in theatres are thus bartered by Punch, in connection with the arrangements of the theatre to be opened in London by Miss Marie Wilton:— "The audience will no longer sit in old-fashioned boxes, but on sofas and divans, the seats being partitioned off by leather and gilded woodwork. Those at their desks will converge so as to form a valley, where all looks apparently hillocock in delightful daisy meadows. The theatre will be a pit will represent innumerable beds; but this is uncertain. The orchestra will be over the roof to represent the music of the spheres and round the stage, where swans and ducks will swim, and the front row of stalls alone, for extra payment, will be allowed to sail during the *entr'actes*. The gallery will be made to represent clouds, so as really to keep up the Olympic notion of gods being there seated. The upper boxes will represent fir plantations; the dress circle, red sandstone rocks, with dark green moss, the back being a vivarium. The box-keepers and officials will be in the refreshment room, the dress circle, and a Swiss cottage; the ladies' cloak-room, a chest in the valley; and the gentlemen's reading, writing, and smoking-room, a cool grove, where they will be waited upon by fair-like forms. Flowers will be everywhere; also real ants, grasshoppers, carwigs, and butterflies, only to be let out during the *entr'actes*, with strings to their legs. In summer the theatre will be cool. In winter it will be warm, and still retain in appearance all the characteristics of summer."

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